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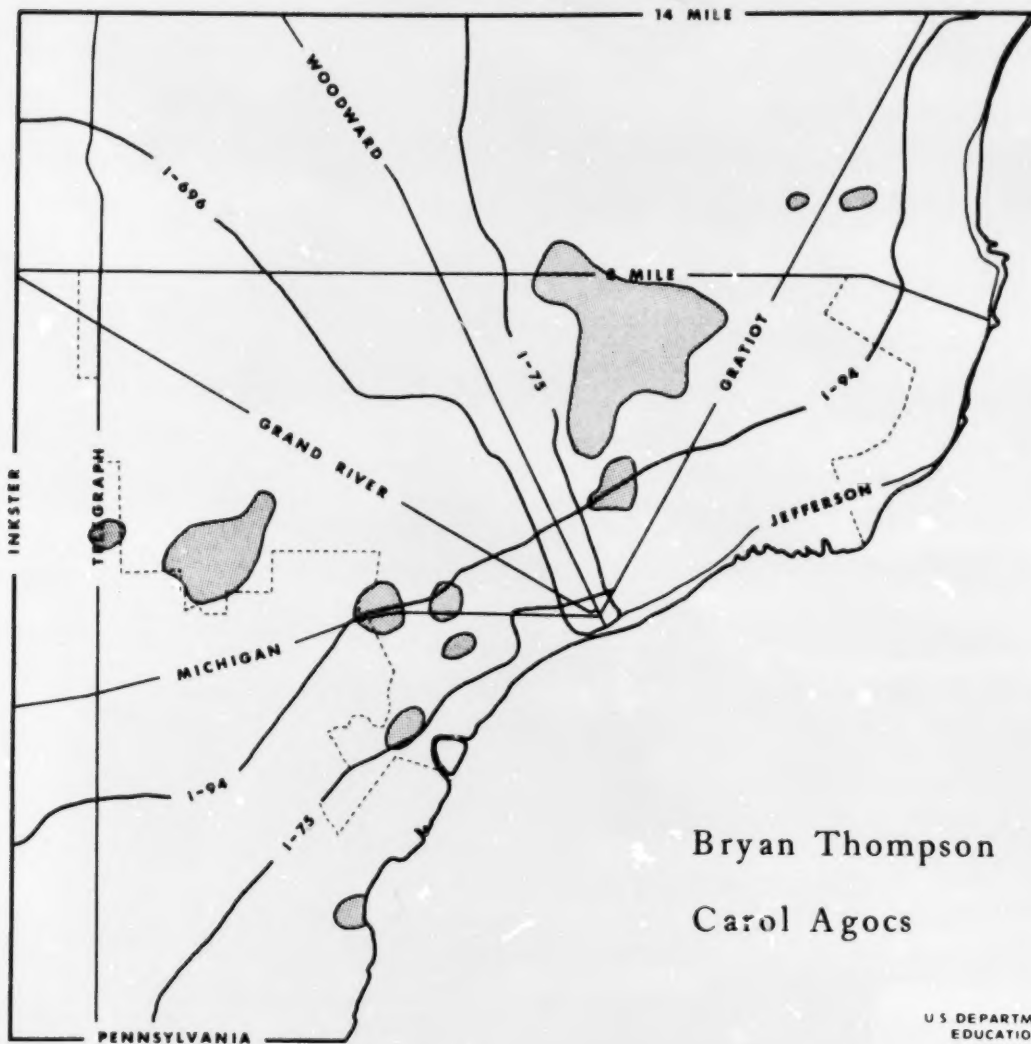
ABSTRACT

There are many problems in the teaching and learning of ethnic studies. Several teaching approaches have been used in an effort to meet some of the educational needs of various ethnic groups. Some problems of research and teaching in the field of ethnic studies include: lack of awareness of the current social meaning of ethnicity; data deficiencies; lack of sensitivity to problems of scale in spatial analysis; the separation between teaching and research; and limitations imposed by discipline-bound viewpoints. The research-teaching approaches used in the effort to encounter these problems include: migration histories of students' families; studies of ethnic settlement at interregional, intraregional, and intraurban scales; the urban ethnic field trip; and the metropolitan Detroit ethnic mapping project. (Authors/JN)

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ETHNIC STUDIES

- Teaching And Research Needs -



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ETHNIC STUDIES

- Teaching And Research Needs -

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to identify problems in ethnic studies and to discuss several teaching approaches that we have used in an attempt to meet some of these needs. Some problems of research and teaching in the field of ethnic studies include: 1) lack of awareness of the current social meaning of ethnicity; 2) data deficiencies; 3) lack of sensitivity to problems of scale in spatial analysis; 4) the separation between teaching and research; and 5) limitations imposed by discipline-bounded viewpoints. The research-teaching approaches used in the effort to counter these problems were: 1) migration histories of students' families; 2) studies of ethnic settlement at interregional, intraregional, and intraurban scales; 3) the urban ethnic field trip; and 4) the metropolitan Detroit ethnic mapping project.

ETHNIC STUDIES: Teaching and Research Needs*

Anselm Strauss, in his book *Images of the American City*, observes that:

the city... can be viewed as a complex set of symbolized areas. Any given population will be cognizant of only a small number of these areas: most areas will lie outside of effective perception; others will be conceived in such ways that they will hardly ever be visited, and will indeed be avoided.¹

Many ethnic communities of second and third generation settlers in American cities have "gone underground". They have become part of the informal social organization of the city that is invisible to most observers, and frequently are overlooked or avoided.

At a recent conference of geographers at Wayne State University, a secondary school teacher remarked that she was unaware of the presence of a number of the city's ethnic communities, despite the fact that she had taught for many years in the Detroit metropolitan area. Ethnic communities frequently lie "outside of effective perception," even though they continue to be important elements in the spatial and social structure of Detroit and most other large American cities.

Nowadays it is acceptable and even fashionable in many quarters to publicly identify with and take pride in one's ethnic heritage. There has been a recent revival of interest in ethnic identity and in the problems ethnic communities face.² Just as poverty in America was "discovered" ten years ago, so the fact of ethnic pluralism is being "discovered" today. However, this new awareness must still confront the dominant American mood that stigmatizes or denies the existence of ethnicity. In Andrew Greeley's words:

when one attempts to persuade on the exigencies of ethnic research as important, one is told first that the question is quite irrelevant because of the workings of the assimilation process, and second that it is a highly sensitive issue which might offend people if pushed too vigorously. How something can be irrelevant and sensitive, no longer an issue and still offensive, is one of those great paradoxes...³

Ethnic studies, particularly the study of ethnic community formation and growth, is an old field of inquiry in American social science that has undergone a recent renewal. In Detroit, it has only been during the past year that serious plans have been under way to introduce ethnic studies courses in most of the city's public schools and colleges. Thus the remarks that follow are preliminary and suggestive, rather than the fruits of experience in well-established programs. An attempt will be made to identify some of the needs in ethnic studies, and then to discuss some teaching approaches that have been used in an effort to overcome some of the problems. The focus is on a few basic concepts related to urban ethnic settlement, and on some projects that have been effective with freshman and sophomore students in beginning geography and social science courses.

The problems discussed include:

- 1) lack of awareness of the current social meaning of ethnicity (in many cases stemming from lack of contact with ethnic groups);
- 2) lack of relevant data for ethnic studies;
- 3) lack of sensitivity to problems of scale in spatial analysis;
- 4) the separation between research and teaching; and
- 5) problems stemming from a discipline-bounded viewpoint.

Teaching approaches that are discussed include:

- 1) migration histories of students' families;
- 2) studies of ethnic settlement at inter-regional, intraregional, and intraurban scales;
- 3) the urban ethnic field trip; and
- 4) the metropolitan Detroit area ethnic mapping project.

The ideal of the melting pot continues to be influential, and has engendered a widespread insensitivity to the persistent ethnic pluralism of American cities. Ethnic communities are typically viewed as exotic remnants of former generations that will soon pass away.

Problems and Needs

1. Lack of Awareness and Involvement

In the broadest sense, the problem of awareness that the instructor confronts in the classroom, or the researcher deals with when communicating findings to the public, consists of a widespread skepticism that ethnic groups are really important, or that ethnic communities still exist as social realities. Such skepticism is to be expected among people who have heard about the "melting pot" throughout their school experience, and who have been nurtured on textbooks that have little or nothing to say about the roles of the Irish or Blacks or Italians in the industrialization of America, or the leadership of Poles or Jews in the struggle to organize American workers, or the formation of suburban ethnic communities in recent years.⁴

In a narrower sense, a critical problem in ethnic research and teaching has been a lack of extended and direct contact with groups we purport to understand. Members of ethnic communities understandably find repugnant many of the facile commentaries by instant "experts" who report on them in the mass media and scholarly journals. A member of Philadelphia's Italian community complained that, "What you have now... are a lot of pointed heads and non-degree sociologists making field trips into South Philadelphia to study the natives. They've got everything but butterfly nets... (They) think that we're all just bigots and racists and street fighters'."⁵ Obviously many questions can be answered without contact, through reliance on available data sources. However, questions have too often tended to be structured around available data, and consequently, many important questions go unasked. Of more concern is the fact that problems important to the individuals and groups involved — problems that social scientists have skills to handle — not only are neglected, but pass unrecognized.

A more adequate understanding of the processes entailed in recent settlement patterns in urban areas will require extended contact with the individual decision-makers involved in migration processes. This kind of emphasis, one that takes the social scientist into his community, will surface new

research areas, which by their very nature will demand new approaches. For example, operating at a more detailed scale will necessitate the development of new observational skills that will enable students of the city to see that which formerly passed unseen. Much of the initial work will be exploratory proceeding on a trial and error basis in the early stages. It will eventually entail more rigorous testing of existing deductively-derived migration models, and then the development of new models based on small scale, micro-behavioral studies.⁶

Limited contacts with a newly forming Albanian Catholic community on Detroit's near east side provided many new insights. For example, it seemed logical for English classes to be given at the International Institute in Detroit until it was pointed out how many buses the Albanians would have to take in order to make the four or five mile trip to the Institute. Or consider a second example. Ethnic communities are not usually thought of as spatial entities with flexible boundaries that expand and contract in harmony with the state of the economy. But the Albanians, many of whom are employed at the Dodge Main plant, have the lowest seniority and are the first to be laid off during a recession. When this occurs, families double up. When their financial position improves they again seek independent accommodations. Both of these examples point to peculiar geographic factors that can be uncovered only by specific case studies.

If ethnic groups are viewed from the vantage point of a distant ivory tower, the perspective may be a patronizing one, that is, ethnic group members may be seen as "subjects" to be "researched." No doubt some answers would be forthcoming, but there is a risk of insufficient awareness of the vast array of problems facing specific urban communities. Furthermore, if we neglect the problems of our urban communities, we are committing a socially irresponsible act, which is a far greater risk to take.

2. Data Problems

Much of what was said in the preceding section alluded to the problem of data deficiencies in conducting ethnic research. Census data are frequently

used, but their limitations are serious. Up until 1950, the majority of cities had not been subdivided into census tracts; consequently detailed mapping and analysis were precluded before this time. Even tract data give an inadequate picture of ethnic clustering. It is still not possible to show within-tract variations, and tract boundaries and the boundaries of ethnic communities rarely coincide. Work based on tract data tends at best to be long on description and short on explanation.

Another limitation of census data is the problem of coverage. The census fails to take account of the national origin of the grandchildren of immigrants or of their descendants. Moreover, census questions are so structured that there is no way to properly enumerate Jews or other religious groups, southern whites or other regionally defined groups, or members of ethnic groups who were minorities in their countries of origin (e.g. gypsies), or who came from countries that have ceased to exist (e.g. Lithuanians), or whose borders changed (e.g. Hungarians living within the borders of what is now Rumania). Nor are tabulations on economic and occupational status available for most ethnic groups.⁷

What can be done about data problems? One thing is to make better use of available data. For example, city directories have rarely been used in reconstructing the ethnic structure of urban areas largely because of the difficulties involved in extracting data. More new data must also be generated by researchers, and much of this should center around small scale neighborhood and regional studies. Only after this stage is well underway can models and theories of ethnic structure and change be verified.

3. *Problems of Scale*

Scale considerations are critical in spatial analysis, with each scale requiring its own methodologies; the study of a city block requires different approaches different from those useful in the study of an entire city, urban region, or nation-state. It is also important to recognize the inseparability, of macro and micro elements for many questions. Neighborhood problems involving a few ethnic groups cannot be completely divorced from city-wide

problems, which in turn are related to state and national problems.

A related issue is the tendency to compartmentalize questions, labeling them problems of "housing," or "education," without recognizing the intricate connections that exist among problems within the urban system. Thus the quality of housing is frequently studied without looking at its relationship to public transportation, local labor market conditions, education, neighborhood structure, or the safety of children using outdoor play space.

4. *Separation between Teaching and Research*

A disjunction between research and teaching is often lamented in every field of inquiry, and is obviously not a problem specific to ethnic studies. Clearly, research should further pedagogical purposes, and vice versa. The testing of new ideas, coupled with a researcher's enthusiasm, provide excellent starting points for good teaching. Furthermore, research benefits, since teaching not only demands meticulous self-evaluation, but also encourages critical student comments. In ethnic studies each student, as a member of an ethnic group, has a unique opportunity to relate his classroom work to his personal experience by working with his own group. If provisions are made to include students in the research process, projects can benefit from students' insights into communities they know well.

5. *Discipline-bounded Viewpoints*

The field of ethnic studies suffers from the fact that most instructors and researchers are committed to a particular discipline. Intellectual perspectives and contacts tend to be department- or profession-bound, with the result that problems and methodologies tend to be narrowly and repetitively structured.

The need to avoid pigeon-holing people or research problems is especially real in the field of ethnic studies. It would seem fruitful to approach problems without preconceived notions as to which questions are the property of the urban historian, and which belong to the urban sociologist or geographer or economist. There are many problems worthy of consideration, which could be construc-

tively approached by people who have a variety of points of view, and experience with an array of research techniques. Multidisciplinary team research, whether it involves instructors or students, seems especially suited to addressing the questions encountered in the study of ethnic settlement and problems of ethnic communities.

Classroom Topics and Projects

1. *Student Migration Histories*

We have used several projects in college classes to get around the problems just outlined. One of the most successful was a paper on the migration histories of students' own families.

In introducing the migration history assignment, it is helpful to begin with a discussion of the general question of migration — how and why people migrate.⁸ The concept of "chain migration" helps to clarify the process by which migration and subsequent settlement in a new community occur. Migration typically involves social chains: prospective migrants learn of opportunities elsewhere through friends and relatives who have already made the move. These "pioneers" provide assistance to later migrants who have decided to move. Assistance usually involves money for passage, accommodation on arrival, and help in looking for work.⁹ Once the general processes involved in migration are understood, it is useful to discuss with students the special characteristics of intraurban migration.¹⁰

In writing their migration histories, most students go back to their grandparents on both sides of the family. They are encouraged to draw generalizations regarding the reasons for, and the nature of, moves at the inter-country, intracontinental, and intraurban scales. They begin to see patterns, and some of the reasons for these regularities, in the migration histories of their own families. And they begin to see their particular case as part of a broader perspective, a larger world.

The writing of family migration histories provides an approach to several of the problems previously posed. It speaks rather effectively to the problem of awareness by stimulating students to raise questions such as, "what is the historical experience of my family and how is it relevant to the social science concepts and historical events

discussed in class?" "What group do I belong to: who are my people?" "Who am I?" The study of students' families is an effective introduction for the individual both to the human experiences common to most of the American population (coming to Detroit, and to America, from somewhere else), and to the concept of ethnic pluralism (having different roots and different sets of historical experiences).

The writing of family migration histories also provides a modest way of bridging the gap between teaching and research, and a unique source of data for pilot research. For the student, the study of his own family tends to build a bridge between his personal experience and the "academic" world of social science; he learns that interesting research often begins at home.

For the instructor, the study of students' families is a step in the direction of what Everett C. Hughes has called "teaching as fieldwork."¹¹ It brings the instructor-researcher into an involvement with the particular ethnic communities of which his students are members. This direct experience increases the instructor's understanding of ethnic groups, and of his students, with probable benefits to both his research and his teaching activities. An added benefit is that the student papers accumulated over the years provide an archive that can yield much interesting information for pilot research on such problems as local patterns of inter-generational mobility, ethnic migration chains (international, intercontinental and intraurban) and local tendencies for members of various ethnic groups to marry inside or outside the group.

2. *Ethnic Settlement Patterns in the United States*

Other possible approaches for ethnic studies courses involve the materials outlined in Tables 1 through 3. Here the discussion centers around descriptions and explanations regarding the distribution of ethnic groups. Various scales of analysis could be incorporated into the structure — inter-regional and inter-city differences, as well as intraregional and intra-city differences.

Table 2 shows differences in the proportions of foreign stock found in a selected number of cities. These differences could be explained to some degree by comparing the period of massive

European immigration to the United States with the period of greatest growth for each of the cities. For example, one could compare Boston's maximum period of growth with that of Atlanta — Boston's being at the time of the European migrations, and Atlanta's being much more recent.

Differences in regional concentrations of selected immigrant groups are outlined in Table 3. For example, in 1910, New England had 13.6 per cent of the nation's foreign-born population. If each nationality group were evenly distributed throughout each region in proportion to the per cent of its total of the nation's foreign-born, then New England would have 13.6 per cent of the nation's Irish population, 13.6 per cent of the Germans, and so on. The index of deviation is a measure of the degree of concentration of ethnic groups in the seven regions. An index of deviation of 1.8 for the Irish in New England means that this area had almost twice as many Irish as it would have had if the Irish were distributed regionally in proportion to the distribution of the total foreign-born population. The West North Central region clearly has a concentration of Scandinavians with an index of 3.2.

Explanations for interregional variations involve the period when each of the groups came to the U.S., coupled with the opening up of continental space for settlement. Later the labor demand of a burgeoning urban industrial society influenced both regional and urban concentrations. Trade ties between European and North American ports also had an effect, particularly in the early part of the nineteenth century.

At another scale, it is useful to examine variations in the proportions of selected immigrant groups in a number of cities within a region. There are considerable variations in the proportions of French Canadians and Irish throughout New England. Discussions here could center around distance from the source area in the case of the French Canadians, differences in employment opportunities, and chain migration effects. The ethnic composition of most American cities has been influenced by "chain migration" effects. Detroit, relative to its size, has disproportionately large numbers of many groups. The Rumanians, Maltese, Chaldeans, and Albanian Catholics are just four examples.

At yet another scale, groups show a good deal of intra-urban variation. In 1928, for example, there were some 20 neighborhoods in New York City whose populations were 50 to 90 per cent Italian, often concentrated by town or province of origin.¹¹ Here, "chain migration" effects are critical. The city, especially in the early twentieth century, could be spatially subdivided on the basis of national origin of its population, then town or region of origin, and then kinship and friendship networks.



3. *The Urban Ethnic Field Trip*

The urban ethnic field trip has proved to be of value in illustrating such processes as what happens to a neighborhood when one ethnic group replaces another and the sequence that occurs; residual evidence of earlier settlement in a neighborhood; changing density patterns; the role of institutions such as churches and businesses in giving stability to an area; how urban renewal disputes affect a neighborhood; and the dissection of communities by freeway construction.

In organizing urban ethnic field trips, a limited number of small areas in the metropolitan area are selected to illustrate specific points. Buses and large groups are an affront to the community, so field groups should be kept small — five or six students.

It is useful to train senior undergraduates or graduate students to act as guides. Also, students often suggest areas of the city to be visited and what can be learned, and make the arrangements for the trip. Sometimes a trip might involve a visit to a student's ethnic community, or to a neighborhood group, church, or other institution with which he is affiliated; his colleagues are thus afforded an inside view.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION 1850-1919

	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19
Total in Millions	2.7	2.1	2.7	5.2	3.7	8.2	6.3
Percent of Total From:							
Ireland	36.9	24.4	15.4	12.8	11.0	4.2	2.6
Germany	34.8	35.2	27.4	27.5	15.7	4.0	2.7
United Kingdom	13.5	14.9	21.1	15.5	8.9	5.7	5.8
Scandinavia	0.9	5.5	7.6	12.7	10.5	5.9	3.8
Russia		0.2	1.3	3.5	12.2	18.3	17.4
Austria-Hungary		0.2	2.2	6.0	14.5	24.4	15.2
Italy		0.5	1.7	5.1	16.3	23.5	19.4

Source: David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 53.

TABLE 1

FOREIGN STOCK IN SELECTED SMSA AREAS (1960)

SMSA	% Foreign Stock	Ireland	Sweden	Germany	Poland	USSR	Italy	Canada
Atlanta	4.8	1.5	4.2	12.6	1.6	2.1	1.8	5.8
Boston	41.8	17.2	2.2	2.4	3.8	8.8	18.7	24.3
Cincinnati	10.5	6.5	0.8	41.7	2.9	5.7	8.1	3.7
Detroit	30.1	1.9	1.2	10.1	16.8	4.9	8.4	22.6
Denver	16.0	4.2	6.7	15.7	3.8	10.3	8.3	6.8
Hartford	39.3	9.2	3.7	5.9	12.6	7.3	19.3	16.1
Fort Worth	4.7	2.8	2.8	12.3	3.5	3.6	3.7	6.4
Milwaukee	28.1	1.4	1.7	35.0	16.2	4.5	4.8	3.6
Minn.-St. Paul	25.0	2.6	20.5	16.9	5.3	4.4	2.1	9.0
New Orleans	8.1	3.5	0.7	10.9	2.1	3.1	31.2	3.2
Newark	36.2	5.6	1.4	12.0	10.7	8.9	24.8	2.8
Norfolk	6.1	4.5	1.5	8.6	5.9	7.4	11.0	11.5
St. Louis	12.8	6.1	1.0	30.6	6.5	7.0	10.3	2.8
San Bernadino- Riverside- Ontario	20.3	2.0	3.1	9.5	2.2	2.7	5.5	10.6
San Francisco- Oakland	30.4	5.2	3.2	9.3	1.9	3.9	12.5	8.1
Seattle	25.8	2.5	9.3	9.0	1.7	3.3	3.7	22.6
Syracuse	24.7	6.9	0.8	12.7	10.7	4.9	25.3	14.4

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population and Housing, 1960* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1963).

Note: percentages for countries refer to percent of total foreign stock.

TABLE 2

The urban field trip provides a unique occasion for students to learn observational skills. People live most of their lives in an urban setting, but the significance of activities and places in the city often remains beneath the level of awareness. The ability to perceive spatial interplays and processes develops partially in response to an individual's experiences and abilities, but also in response to training designed to sharpen observational skills.

4. The Detroit Area Ethnic Mapping Project

The Detroit area ethnic mapping project was a teaching-research endeavor based on field work done by Wayne State and Monteith students. The project was designed to provide information, unavailable from other sources, about the current distribution of ethnic groups in the Detroit area. The most recent U.S. census data had been gathered in 1959, and in addition, presented serious problems of coverage and scale. The mapping project was intended to yield a more up-to-date and complete picture of the residential distribution of Detroit's ethnic population than census data could provide.

A reasonably accurate and current ethnic map could be a valuable aid in ethnic studies classes, and would provide baseline data necessary to begin to answer a number of important questions: 1) In what suburbs are members of particular ethnic groups concentrated? 2) What groups tend to live near each other, and which groups live apart? 3) How is the Black population, Detroit's largest ethnic group, distributed, and which are its ethnic neighbors? 4) What patterns of ethnic settlement are discernible? 5) Are major public facilities (hospitals, parks, public transportation lines), and major sources of employment, located so as to give ethnic groups equal access?

The information upon which the Detroit area ethnic map is based was gathered by means of a survey similar to one used to map the ethnic structure of Worcester, Massachusetts.¹³ The first step in the procedure was to superimpose a one-mile grid or checker-board pattern on a map of the Detroit metropolitan area. Each student interviewer then chose four adjacent cells of the grid which corresponded to a neighborhood in which he wanted to do his field work. Each student did four brief inter-

views with neighborhood residents, pedestrians or storekeepers that he encountered in each cell for which he was responsible. Informants were asked to describe the ethnic composition of the neighborhood, and their responses were recorded on a structured questionnaire form.¹⁴ The information gathered was then plotted on a map (Fig. 1)).¹⁵

The Detroit area ethnic map will be a useful teaching and research aid in that it gives an indication of the distributions of Southern whites, Jews, Lithuanians, and other groups not noted by the census; recent arrivals like the Albanians; and the grandchildren and subsequent descendents of immigrants who have retained their ethnic identity. There were some informative surprises, such as the discovery of residual Irish neighborhoods in an area of the city that long ago became predominantly Mexican-American, Black, and Southern white. But as expected, the picture of ethnic settlement gained from the map is rough and far from the accuracy achieved in many conventional maps. The scale of the grid was not fine enough to pick up every ethnic group, or to draw exact boundaries around ethnic communities because of the limited number of student interviewers available. Problems of accuracy also stemmed from variations in degree of thoroughness, motivation and accuracy on the part of the interviewers. The quality of the information obtained also depended on how informants viewed their neighborhoods, and how well informed they were. Some students had difficulty in finding informants who had the desired information about their neighborhood.

Despite some unpleasant encounters, however, students did learn something about interviewing and about the ethnic structure of the metropolitan area and of neighborhoods within it. Many observed a small area of the city closely, often for the first time, or learned to see a familiar neighborhood in a new way. Students became aware of how other people perceive their neighborhoods. Long term neighborhood residents know their neighborhoods well, at a fine scale. They know, for example, that this side of the block is Mexican from this street to that, and that the other side of the street is Puerto Rican. They know how two groups get along, when they came, and who used to live in the houses before them.

DETROIT AREA ETHNIC GROUPS 1971

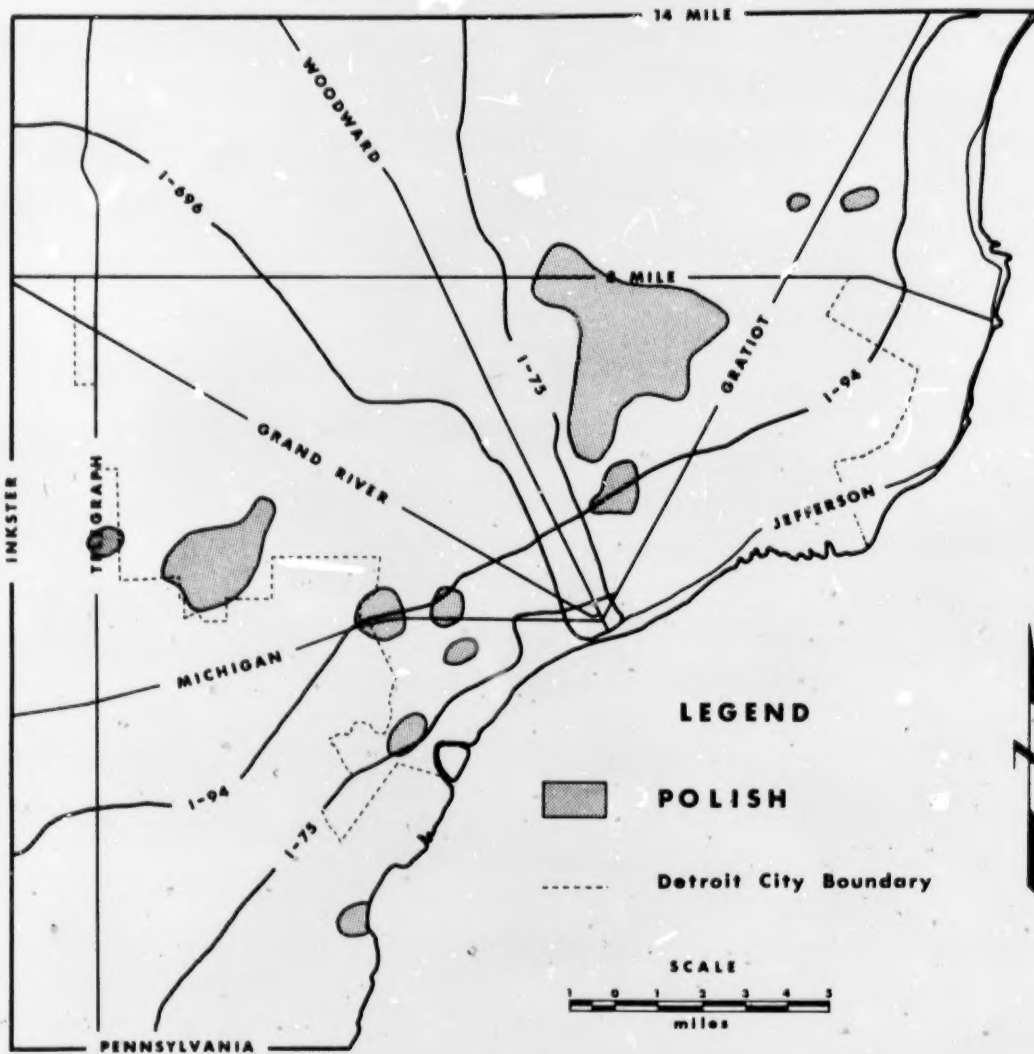


FIGURE 1

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED IMMIGRANT GROUPS, 1910
INDEX OF DEVIATION *

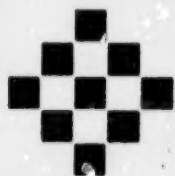
	Ireland	Germany	United Kingdom	Canada	Scandinavia	Russia	Italy	Austria- Hungary	Percent of Nation's Foreign Born
New England	1.8	0.2	1.3	3.2	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.4	13.6
Middle Atlantic	1.3	0.8	1.0	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.6	1.4	36.1
East North Central	0.6	1.6	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.5	1.3	23.0
West North Central	0.5	1.4	0.7	0.7	3.2	0.6	0.2	0.7	12.1
South	0.7	1.4	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.8	1.1	0.7	5.4
Mountain	0.6	0.5	1.9	0.9	1.6	0.4	0.8	0.7	3.3
Pacific	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.2	1.7	0.3	0.9	0.4	6.5

*Index of Deviation = $\frac{\text{foreign-born group (\% of nation's total in region)}}{\% \text{ of nation's foreign-born population}}$

Source: Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, p. 74.

TABLE 3

In our interviewing in an older area of the inner city, there was someone in almost every neighborhood who was an expert about its present and past settlement patterns. Proprietors of "ma and pa" stores, neighborhood clergymen, young people, men standing around American Legion or ethnic halls, and housewives who were long-term residents of the neighborhood, proved to be especially well informed and willing to talk about their neighborhoods and ethnic communities. One of the benefits of doing the project, in fact, was the discovery that even in unsettled times when suspicion is so often a spontaneous human reaction, people are surprisingly cooperative with strangers and ready to share what they know with interested students. This was probably more true in the inner city than in suburban areas, where there are no small grocery stores and no one hangs out on street corners.



Conclusions

Needs in ethnic studies, which could be incorporated into a framework for ethnic research, are: 1) studies conducted at a fine scale, focussing on individuals, families and neighborhoods; 2) problem identification and research design initiated at the grass roots level, and 3) more interchange between various disciplines. What will be the payoffs of attempts to implement these suggestions? First of all, an evaluation of problems and alternatives will be helpful to those primarily responsible for planning and operating urban systems. Secondly, the end product of these new emphases will be a greater understanding of the urban system and its intricate interconnections, hopefully resulting in new and

modified theories of urban structure as well as new policies. New methodologies may be developed, and the entire process of coping with new problems will in turn generate new questions and hypotheses. And, finally there will be greater recognition of the benefits that stem from a linking of the academic community's knowledge and insight with a different kind of knowledge and insight found in other segments of our urban areas in cooperative ventures to identify and solve current urban problems.

*An early version of this paper was presented by Bryan Thompson at the annual meeting of the National Council for Geographic Education at Atlanta in November, 1971. The authors extend their thanks to Dr. Lane J. Johnson of Temple University for valuable editorial comments on an earlier draft. Konrad Waibel and John Wassell, students in the Geography Department at Wayne State University, carried out the cartographic work in preparing the ethnic map.

¹Anselm L. Strauss, *Images of the American City* (New York: Free Press, 1961), p. 59.

²The pioneering works of the early sixties included Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press, 1962); Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1963); and Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). The last three years constitute what can be called a "revival" of interest in ethnic studies. Many works have been published recently representing all of the social sciences. Some influential examples include Andrew Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1969); Gerald Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territoriality in the Inner City* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968); Nathan Kantrowitz, "Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXXIV (1969), 685-695; and Peter Binzen, *Whitetown, USA* (New York: Random House, 1970).

³Andrew Greeley, "Ethnicity as an Influence on Behavior," in Otto Feinstein (ed.), *Ethnic Groups*

in the City: Culture, Institutions, and Power (Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington, 1971), p. 6.

⁸A recent study sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League concluded that "a significant number of texts published today continue to present a principally white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of America's past and present, while the nature and problems of minority groups are largely neglected." See Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies Texts* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 138. See also, Philip Rosen, "Pointers for Teachers of American Immigration," *The History Teacher*, (January, 1970), 46-51.

⁹Quoted in Binzen, *Whitetown, USA* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 32.

¹⁰For further discussion of this idea see Roger M. Downs and Robert Horsfall, "Methodological Approaches to Urban Cognition," paper presented at the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Boston, Massachusetts, April, 1971.

¹¹For a discussion of problems of census coverage of Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, see David M. Heer (ed.), *Social Statistics and the City* (Cambridge: MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1968).

¹²Useful references on this question include Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952); Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Jaher (eds.), *The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970); W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover, 1958 edition); A. R. Eckler and Jack Zlotnick, "Immigration and the Labor Force," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLXII (1949), 92-101; Charles Tilly, "Race and Migration to the American City," in James Q. Wilson (ed.), *The Metropolitan Enigma* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 136-157; and Stephen Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth Century America," in Barton J. Bernstein (ed.), *Towards a New Past* (New York: Pantheon, 1968), 158-175.

¹³The chain migration process is discussed in John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, "Urbanization, Ethnic Groups, and Social Segmentation," *Social Research*, XXIX (Winter, 1962), 433-448; and "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XLII (1964), 82-92.

¹⁴Useful references dealing with intraurban migration include James W. Simmons, "Changing Residence in the City: A Review of Intraurban Mobility," *The Geographical Review*, LVIII (October, 1968), 622-651; Lawrence A. Brown and Eric G. Moore, "The Intra-Urban Migration Process: A Perspective," *General Systems: Yearbook of the Society for General Systems Research*, XV (1970), 109-122; Lawrence A. Brown and John Holmes, "Intra-Urban Migrant Lifelines: A Spatial View," *Demography*, VIII (February, 1971), 103-122; John S. Adams, "Directional Bias in Intra-Urban Migration," *Economic Geography*, XLV (October, 1969), 302-323.

¹⁵Everett C. Hughes, "Teaching as Fieldwork," *American Sociologist*, V (February, 1970), 13-18.

¹⁶Oscar Handlin, *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p.

¹⁷Harold Creveling, "Mapping Cultural Groups in an American Industrial City," *Economic Geography*, XXXI (October, 1955), 364-371. For a similar approach see Eric O. Hoiberg and Jerv S. Cloyd, "Definition and Measurement of Continuous Variation in Ecological Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XXXVI (Feb. 1971), 65-74.

¹⁸"The questionnaire was brief and simple. The interviewer first introduced himself and the project: 'I'm working on a school project to make a map of ethnic groups in Detroit. I'm interested in finding out where various ethnic groups live in the Detroit area. By ethnic, I mean Black, Southern white, Polish, German, Jewish, and so on.' Then the questions were asked: 'Do you know whether most of the people living in this neighborhood - at least half of the residents - are members of one ethnic group? (If yes,) which group? (If no,) are there two or three groups taken together that make up at least half the population of this neighborhood? (If yes,) which groups? (If no,) are there more than three ethnic groups represented in this neighborhood? (If yes,) list as many of the groups as you can.'"

¹⁹This sample map shows the distribution of metropolitan Detroit's Polish community. Other maps showing single ethnic group areas are available. Also, a large scale colored map is being prepared which will show twenty-three ethnic groups and combination of ethnic groups (fifty-one different groups were mentioned by respondents). A detailed discussion of mapping procedures can be found in "The Distribution of Detroit's Ethnic Communities," which can be obtained from Bryan Thompson, Department of Geography, Wayne State University.